Victory at Kent State; Chile's Good Fortune, P. 2

Looks Like Nixon Can't Even Trust Police Chiefs Anymore

"The haters surged past the barricades and began throwing rocks. Not small stones . . . and not just directed at me, though some hit the presidential car." —*Nixon at Phoenix Oct. 31 on the San Jose riot.*

"The so-called riot has been exaggerated. The 'barrage' on the President was verbal, not physical. To my knowledge there was not a rock thrown at the President." —*San Jose Police Chief Blackmore: UPI,* Washington Star, *Nov. 3.*

I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly

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When $in, $mut and $tudents Failed

The swiftest if most cynical way to sum up the election is that Nixon and Agnew misjudged the American people. Far too many of them may sometimes look and sound like morons. But they're not imbeciles. At a time when the country faces its gravest problems since the Civil War, Nixon and Agnew thought they could win by campaigning against sin, smut and students. They pitched their sales talk at the bright but mindless level of the TV commercials. They assumed—and no assumption could be more elitist, a favorite Agnew charge—that the un-poor, the un-black and the un-young were also the un-thinking. They had at least five times as much money to spend as the Democrats*, and they still couldn't stampede the voters. The country proved better balanced, more humane, and far less susceptible to panic than Nixon and Agnew assumed. By their tactics, though inadvertently, they for the first time did something to create confidence in America.

Add Agnew's Dangerous Radicals

Last night at a rally in Hammond, Ind., Mr. Agnew said Senator Hartke was photographed with "well-known radicals, giving the clenched-fist salute" and added, "I think it's safe to say he curries favor with the revolutionary left." The photograph was taken at a rally for Negro candidates at the Northside Church in Indianapolis. Besides Mrs. [Coretta] King, the others in the picture included the Rev. Wm. Birdsong who runs Operation Breadbasket to provide meals for inner city children. The group in the background was the Operation Breadbasket Choir composed of Negro teenagers. The theme of her [Mrs. King's] speech was the need for Negroes to avoid violence. There is some disagreement as to whether Senator Hartke was giving a clenched fist salute because the picture is blurred. Hartke says he was merely waving.

—The Baltimore Sun *November 1 (abridged).*

The No. 1 Loss Was Gore

The Republicans could have saved a lot of money and done just as well, perhaps better, by a low key performance. The country is still where it has been for more than a generation, in the middle of the road, just a little left of center. In a time of immense and often frightening new problems, the country remains steady, perhaps downright stodgy, but not about to be swept away by demagogy. The Southern strategy failed in the South. Except for border state Tennessee, where Gore's defeat was the biggest single loss to liberalism in this election, the swing was toward moderate Democrats and away from race-baiting Republicans like Thurmond's fellow Dixiecrat Watson in South Carolina. In Nixon's California Reagan was reelected despite four years of non-accomplishment. But a black educator, Wilson Riles, defeated that prize reactionary Max Rafferty for state superintendent of education by nearly a half million votes, outpolling Reagan and Tunney, and the Democrats took both houses of the legislature. The Conservatives elected a Senator in New York State but only because the majority was split between Goodell and Ottinger, while upstate a former Democratic Congressman, John G. Dow, one of the first to advocate recognition of Communist China, defeated a conservative Republican. Father Drinan's election to the House as a peace candidate from Massachusetts and Bella Abzug's from New York counterbalance Allard Lowenstein's loss. This was hardly a vintage year for the Nixon-Agnew version of Know Nothingism.

In the two States where campus violence was freshest in the minds of the electorate, the results show that whipping up hatred for students is not the vote getter Nixon and Agnew thought it was. Wisconsin and Ohio were among the States in which the Democrats made their dramatic sweep of the Governorships. Patrick J. Lucey, a McCarthy lieutenant in 1968, organizer of the New Democratic Coalition in 1969, was elected Governor of Wisconsin despite the effort to brand him, in alliterative Agnewism, as a coddler of campus terrorists. In Ohio John J. Gilligan was elected Governor despite a campaign in which the Republicans tried to exploit anti-student feeling in the wake of the Kent State shootings and accuse him of "permissiveness." Nixon's favorite, Governor Rhodes, by an inflammatory speech at Kent State had hoped and failed to win the Republican Senate nomination from the more moderate Taft who has now won the Senate seat. Best of all is what happened to the Attorney Generalship of Ohio, an elective office. Paul W. Brown, the Rhodes lieutenant who set up the white-wash special Grand Jury in the Kent State killings, will be replaced by a Democrat, Paul W. Brown. This may make a crucial difference in the struggle for justice at Kent State.

(Continued on Page Four)

*** A survey by Bernard Nossiter in the Washington Post Nov. 3 showed Republican national committees reporting $18.6 million in campaign gifts as compared to $3.6 million reported by the Democrats. Since the reporting procedures set up by the Corrupt Practices Act are notoriously lax and this tally does not cover State campaigns, it understates the amounts spent and the Republican advantage.**

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A First Amendment Victory

THE FIRST VICTORY IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE at Kent State was the ACLU's success in getting Federal Judge Ben Green in Cleveland to overturn the twin injunction issued by State Judge Edwin Jones forbidding (1) witnesses before the special Kent State Grand Jury to comment on the jury's whitewash of the National Guard and (2) peaceful picketing and leafleting around his court house. Judge Jones pleaded that his "gag" order affected only 300 witnesses before the Grand Jury. Judge Green replied that it not only forbade these 300 from speaking but the rest of the world from hearing their opinion of the Grand Jury presentment, "a matter of national, social, political and moral concern and debate." The effect is to quash the contempt orders against Prof. Glenn Frank, who challenged the gag rule, and also Seabury Ford, one of the three special prosecutors who directed the grand jury and showed his bias by telling the Akron *Beacon-Journal* the Guard should have shot "all the trouble-makers."

Prof. Frank's defiance put Judge Jones on the spot. He could not cite Frank for contempt without citing Ford, who had also broken the Judge's order. So Ford had to be cited, too. One useful byproduct is that the Board of Regents can no longer name Ford as special hearing officer for campus disorders at Kent State; his prejudice is too plainly showing. Best of all the decision will open up the one-sided Grand Jury presentment to full debate, and help to build pressure for a Federal grand jury under a prosecutor of stature and impartiality to review the Kent State massacre.

THERE WAS MORE THAN THE SYMBOLISM OF INDEPENDENCE in the greetings Chile's new President, Allende, gave delegations from the pariahs of American politics: Cuba, Communist China, North Vietnam and East Germany. Cuba's victory at the Bay of Pigs and the resistance of the Vietnamese people have made it possible for a Socialist and Marxist to take office peacefully in Chile. Times have changed since the days when John Foster Dulles with the enthusiastic support of Lyndon Johnson as Senate minority leader—and not a single opposition vote in Congress—threw a blockade around Guatemala and overthrew Arbenz, denouncing him as a Communist tool when he tried to effect land reform by expropriating some of United Fruit's unused holdings. Today the U.S. is so tired of intervention and weary of the Vietnam war that a Chilean Popular Front can take power and declare its intention to seize U.S. copper, nitrate and iron holdings with hardly a peep out of Washington, and a Nixon Administration at that!

An equally momentous portent was the Mass over which Chile's Cardinal Silva presided in honor of Allende's inauguration and the tone of the sermon he preached—a plea for social justice in terms which sounded like an Allende campaign speech. Only a few years ago such a Mass for a Marxist President would have been unthinkable. Allende, a Free Mason and a free thinker, joined in this dramaturgy of reconciliation.

Chile is doubly fortunate: unlike the poor Dominican Republic, it is far from the U.S. and unlike poor Czechoslovakia, it is far from the U.S.S.R. It thus has some safety from those Siamese Twin doctrines of imperialism: the Monroe and the Brezhnev doctrines. We hope the distance will make it possible for Allende to give the world its first experiment in a truly democratic socialist regime, able to bring about fundamental economic change without the stultifications and the destruction of free expression which have made Communism repulsive.

WE APPLAUD THE SENTIMENTS expressed in Judge Ger-

Out Of The Pentagon's Own Mouth

The U.S. is now No. 2 in strategic military power. Already the Soviet Union has gained a 6 to 1 superiority in missile megatonnage and, unless we try harder, the Soviets will soon be able to have their way regardless of our wishes.

—From a letter by the American Security Council asking contributions for its Operation Alert to boost arms expenditures.

At the present time we are from two to four years ahead of the Soviet Union in every important area of weapons technology. In strategic forces we now have better ICBMS, better ABM technology and better equipment at every level of detail that is important. The Soviets have larger missiles because they have chosen to go that way, not because their technology is better. . . . Given all these factors, I believe we can afford to at least level off our expenditures for military forces, and indeed reduce them to some extent.

—Deputy Defense Secretary Packard before the Instrument Society of America in Philadelphia, Oct. 26.

Rebutting The Latest Arms Race Scare Campaign By The Military-Industrial Complex

The United States is ahead, not behind, the Soviet Union by any important measure of strategic force effectiveness. The United States is not in any sense following a policy of "unilateral disarmament"—as charged by the American Security Council. "Operation Alert" says that "Since the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the United States has been unilaterally disarming by cutting back on both numbers of strategic weapons systems and on deliverable megatonnage." In fact, we have today more than twice the number of strategic weapons systems we had in 1962.

That U.S. security is dependent on total megatonnage is basic to the American Security Council fears. Numbers of warheads and bombs and their invulnerability, penetrability, and accuracy are much more significant criteria. In order to increase its overall effectiveness, the Strategic Air Command replaced its large multi-megaton bombs with several smaller bombs whose overall yield was less. Does the American Security Council charge the Strategic Air Command with "unilateral disarmament"?

The American Security Council position appears designed primarily to scare or stampede the American public. For example, by listing Soviet delivery vehicles which cannot be used, or are not designed, for strategic attack on the United States and by failing to include at the same time similar U.S. delivery vehicles, such as those based on carriers or in Europe that can attack Soviet allies (and in many cases, Russia itself), the American Security Council table gives a delivery vehicles lead to the U.S.S.R. In fact, the U.S. has an appreciable advantage (of about 2,260 to 1,668) in truly strategic vehicles, i.e., those capable of attacking continental U.S. and Russia.

—Abridged from a statement Oct. 26 by the Strategic Weapons Committee of the Federation of American Scientists (203 C St. NE, Wash DC 20002) in reply to the Operation Alert advertising campaign by the American Security Council, a sounding board for the military industrial complex, which is seeking a new escalation in the arms race. Full text of the rebuttal is obtainable from the FAS. Its Strategic Weapons Committee is chaired by Herbert Scoville, Jr., a deputy director of CIA under Eisenhower and Kennedy, and later Assistant Director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

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hard A. Gesell's order forbidding the government from printing and distributing a House Internal Security (HUAC) report listing radical campus speakers but doubt its constitutionality and wisdom. We don't like injunctions against printing; they would set precedents dangerous to freedom of the press. And we do not like judicial interference with Congressional committees—even committees we despise. This contains the seeds of danger to separation of powers. The Committee has circumvented the order by reading the names into the Congressional Record. Can a Judge enjoin its publication? We doubt it. Witch hunt committee abuses are part of the price to be paid for an independent Congress and a free press. We believe Judge Gesell's order invalid under the First Amendment. We hope that those on the HUAC list will treat it as a badge of honor, and that young people will show their contempt for the Committee by inviting more of these blacklisted radicals to speak on their campuses. That is the best answer to these frightened bigots.

Thieu On Way Out?

CANADIAN RECOGNITION OF CHINA, and indications that Italy will soon follow suit, bring nearer the date on which Peking will be admitted to the UN. If this Administration has a modicum of good sense, it will prepare for the shock (or reality) by some such face-saving device (in this Washington is "oriental", too!) as proposing universal admission to the UN of all existing states. This would take care of the Formosa problem and increase the stature and efficacy of the UN. It was a fantastic anomaly to exclude so large and so gifted a portion of the human race from a world organization . . . WHILE ON THE SUBJECT OF REALITIES, we note with interest the hints that Thieu may not run again for President next September. He should be encouraged out. His replacement by some such figure as Big Minh who is acceptable to the other side would pave the way for peace at last.

WE SALUTE WITH SORROW the passing of the York, Pa., *Gazette and Daily*. Its publisher Josiah W. (Jess) Gitt was that rarity—a publisher of conscience. Nothing is harder than independent journalism in a small town. In 55 years of publishing he made it pay off. He gave this small town in the Pennsylvania Dutch country a paper of prize-winning typographical distinction, with internationally famous liberal and radical contributors. He supported Henry Wallace for President in 1948, and he campaigned unremittingly against the cold war, the witch hunt and racial injustice. At 86 he stands as a living monument to the best Jeffersonian tradition.

FAS Warns SALT Talks May Prove Sham

We are concerned that the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) may produce a sham. As the talks reopen in Helsinki, there is reason to fear that they may become only an umbrella under which further expansion of both U.S. and Soviet strategic forces continue. We note reports that limitations on offensive systems might take the form only of an agreed ceiling on total numbers of missiles, or even on total numbers of missiles and aircraft combined, with few if any restrictions on the replacement of existing weapons by new and different models. Such an agreement would legalize an accelerated arms race directed toward qualitative improvements and the deployment of ever more dangerous weapons. We urge both the U.S. and the Soviet Union to spare no efforts to reach agreement preventing the production, testing and deployment of MIRVs. While the Soviets have not yet tested MIRVs, continued Soviet deployment of SS-9s (and other offensive weapons) and U.S. progress in deployment of MIRV constitute an alarming escalation of the arms race.

—Federation of American Scientists, Nov. 2 (abr.).

We differed with him only once, when he refused Goldwater ads in the 1964 campaign as he also refused liquor ads.

Liquor ads are commerce but political ads involve freedom of expression. We do not believe a newspaper has a right to reject political advertising because it disagrees with the ideas expressed. Anyway poor Goldwater wasn't all that wicked—Lyndon proved trickier and almost as bad.

WE WATCH WITH INTEREST to see whether Moscow will refuse Solzhenitsyn permission to accept the Nobel prize, as they did Pasternak, and as the Nazis did von Ossietzky. It is a measure of what Russia owes Khrushchev that he allowed Solzhenitsyn's indictment of Stalin's prison camp system, *One Day In The Life of Ivan Denisovich*, to be published while his more narrow-minded successors have kept "The First Circle" and "The Cancer Ward" to underground circulation in typescript. No country has produced greater writers than Russia, none more profound in their understanding of the human soul. Almost all of them have had to contend with censorship, suppression or exile. But it has been harder for the writers under the Soviets even than under the Czars. Solzhenitsyn stands in a mighty line that goes back to Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky, and this leaden regime only enhances his renown.

A Sober Antidote To Propaganda That The U.S. Navy Is Now 2d Rate And Obsolete

The growth of the Soviet fleet and its expanding deployment have attracted considerable attention in recent years. From 1950 to 1960 the rise in the Warsaw Pact fighting fleet was much faster than the rise in the NATO fleet. In 1950 the Warsaw Pact fleet was relatively small—only one-sixth the size of that of NATO. In 1960 it was rather less than one-half the NATO fleet. After 1960, the growth-rate of the Soviet fleet slowed down and that of the NATO fleet accelerated, so that between 1960 and 1968 the increase in the NATO fleet was slightly the faster of the two. In 1968, therefore, the Warsaw Pact fleet still was less than half the size of the NATO fleet.

The Warsaw Pact is superior in number of submarines. In 1950, the Warsaw Pact fleet had 100 more submarines than the NATO fleet. In 1968, it had 92 more. The proportion of submarines which were nuclear-powered in 1968 was 28 per cent for NATO against 14 per cent for the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet ballistic-missile submarines are in general inferior in their capabilities to the U.S. Polaris submarines.

One reason for the disquiet expressed by some people in the West is simply that a virtual monopoly has been lost. In 1950 it seemed to them the natural order of things that the naval fleets of NATO nations should move freely around the world's oceans, while the naval fleets of Warsaw Pact nations did not appear much at all. It now is considered a threat in the West when Soviet naval vessels appear in some force in the Mediterranean—whereas the presence of an even larger U.S. naval force seems in some sense natural.

Secondly, a number of Western commentators appear to have given too much attention to those areas where the Soviet Union has an advantage, and too little attention to those areas where NATO has an advantage. NATO has a tremendous superiority in naval air power. Some Western appraisals, however, mention this very briefly. This kind of approach can always make an inferior force appear superior: for it is very rare for one side to have superiority in every weapon.

—Abridged from the 1969/70 Yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, released Nov. 2.

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Time to Treat the American People As Adults Not Boobs

(Continued from Page One)

The Democratic party, which remains the majority party, ran what was on the whole a defensive and uninspiring campaign. The Republicans failed in their effort to treat the electorate as a bunch of boobs. It is time the Democrats mustered the nerve to treat them as adults. We believe the country would respond to thoughtful discussion of inflation, and crime, and drugs, and campus unrest, and violence, and racism, and pollution. We believe it would welcome the admission that there are no easy answers. We believe it needs a clearer understanding of the Vietnam war, and the arms race, and where we are going in both. We believe that voters would respond to sober discussion.

Just Thugs and Hoodlums?

There were disturbing indications in the Nixon campaign that the country is confronted not just by a case of poor tactics but of deficient understanding on his part. This can dangerously deepen the gap between the generations and between the races. Nixon attacked the kind of mob tactics which have grown up on campus and in the ghetto—the refusal to hear opposing points of view, the substitution of four letter words for arguments, the throwing of bottles and bricks. It is the duty of everyone who retains any constituency on the left to combat this loutishness, as it is a duty to combat the growing resort to the bomb. Bombings ruined the anarchist movement in the Nineteenth century and undermined the spiritual heritage even of those saintly anarchists like Kropotkin who were not advocates of "the deed." But it is a serious error for Nixon to say as he did at Phoenix in the closing days of the campaign that today's student and black rebels "are not romantic revolutionaries but the same thugs and hoodlums that have always plagued a good people." This is an echo of the days when every Latin American revolutionary was dismissed as a bandit. Not to recognize the deep moral convictions from which today's revolutionaries draw their inner strength to live as outlaws is completely to misjudge the task of dealing with them.

It is a positive menace to security to have in the White House a man who talks and thinks like an old-fashioned cop. At Phoenix he dismissed as fallacious the "approach that holds that violence will end as we end the war . . . that violence will end as we end hunger and poverty in America." He said "the answer to violence is the strong application of fair American justice." The phrases themselves will prove a provocation on the campus and in the ghetto, as will his urging parents to "exercise their responsibility for moral guidance." This adds a dash of Billy Graham to a jigger of J. Edgar Hoover. Nixon really lives in the past, when football was the main concern of students—and blacks and Chicanos were, if not non-existent, at least invisible on the other side of the tracks. It is up to the Democrats to provide a less simple-minded alternative leadership. Nixon in his campaign appeal at Phoenix urged voters to "bring about the new tough-minded approach to violence." It is pretty clear from the results that even in the deep South and in playgrounds of the rich and retired like Florida, voters have rejected the backward looking obtuseness that Nixon calls "tough-minded," but which is only another variant of the old Bourbon delusion that the way to meet social unrest is with a whiff of gun-powder.

Sacrilegious Utterances Dept.

The FBI reportedly has ordered 11 of its clerical employees to drop out of a course at American University because a lecturer allegedly made derogatory remarks about J. Edgar Hoover. Hugh Nugent, director of the university's Center for the Administration of Justice in which the employees are enrolled said he was told by an FBI representative the Bureau is making it mandatory that they drop the course. Nugent said the incident stems from remarks allegedly made by Thomas Rose, a part time instructor, during a discussion Oct. 6 about a guest lecturer. Nugent said no suggestions were forthcoming from the class, so Rose raised Hoover's name as a possibility and reportedly made remarks derogatory to the director. Nugent said Rose later had difficulty recalling details of the incident as nothing was made of it when it occurred. Last week the FBI ordered 15 agents to drop out of John Jay College in New York following criticism of the FBI and Hoover by a professor there.

—Washington Evening Star, *Oct. 30 (abridged).*

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